

Message Text

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21/40

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 ACDA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 OES-03 SAJ-01

CU-02 TRSE-00 BIB-01 EB-07 OIC-02 OMB-01 CIEP-01

COME-00 SIL-01 LAB-04 /100 W
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O R 141135Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3752

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 303

ZNE/AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUSEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OLSO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

UNDOCOSOUTH

USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4499

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARAGRAPH THREE; LINE TWENTY)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - JUNE 9-13

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1. SUMMARY: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE COMPLETED

ITS SUBSTANTIVE WORK WHEN SOVIETS WITHDREW MOST OF THEIR PROPOSED CHANGES TO PREVIOUSLY AGREED TEXTS. BENEFITTING FROM NEW SOVIET DRIVE, CULTURE AND EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEES REACHED INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON MOST OF THEIR REMAINING SUBSTANTIVE WORK, WITH IMPORTANT EXCEPTION OF YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL ON MINORITIES. PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE MADE GOOD PROGRESS IN DRAFTING OF PREAMBLE AND FINAL CLAUSES AND BASKET II TEXT ON SAFEGUARDS APPEARED CLOSE TO AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, KEY NEGOTIATION ON CBMS WAS STALLED BECAUSE NEUTRALS HESITATED TO PUT FORWARD THEIR COMPROMISE PARAMETERS FOR CBM ON MANEUVERS, AND TWO OTHER KEY ISSUES-- QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS SAVING CLAUSE AND MFN/RECIPROCITY-- WERE EQUALLY STUCK. THUS QUESTION OF TIMING OF STAGE III WAS STILL IN SUSPENSE. GIVEN THE FACT THAT THE FINNS REQUIRE FOUR WEEKS ADVANCE NOTICE FOR CONVENING THE FINAL STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, THE TIME LIMIT FOR A DECISION FOR A JULY SUMMIT IS RAPIDLY APPROACHING. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- IN AN EFFORT TO MATCH ACTIVITY OF OTHER AREAS OF THE CONFERENCE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES REACHED AGREEMENT THAT KEY TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH BETWEEN DECLARATIONS'S PREAMBLE AND PRINCIPLES THEMSELVES, AS WELL AS FINAL CLAUSES OF DECLARATION WERE READY FOR PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION. AT END OF WEEK, WITH TALK BEGINNING OF WILLINGNESS TO MOVE TO INFORMAL SESSIONS IF NECESSARY TO SPEED WORK, SUBCOMMITTEE MADE FAIRLY PROMISING BEGINNING ON DRAFTING OF PREAMBLE PROPER, REACHING TENTATIVE INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON TWO BRIEF PARAGRAPHS. THEIR CONCESSIONS ON TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH WERE WIDELY READ AS SIGN THAT SOVIETS MAY NOW BE PREPARED TO TRADE NUMBER OF SECONDARY POINTS IN RETURN FOR SPEED. HOWEVER, BIGGEST SINGLE REMAINING PROBLEM, QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES SAVING CLAUSE, IS ONE WHICH CUTS ACROSS TRADITIONAL EAST/WEST LINES TO CONSIDERABLE DEGREE, AND FRENCH REMAINED LACKED INTO FORMULA WHICH APPEARS UNLIKELY TO FACILITATE EARLY AGREEMENT. AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF VIRTUAL STALEMATE, ROMANIANS INTRODUCED INTO SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE FOR THEIR NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL

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WHICH THEY HAD WORKED OUT WITH SOVIETS. WHILE SOME CHANGES WILL BE REQUIRED, AGREEMENT ON PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE WOULD STRENGTHEN PROSPECTS FOR MAINTAINING INTEGRITY OF ROMANIAN PROPOSAL, AND THEY ARE EXPECTED TO PUSH HARD FOR IT NEXT WEEK.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE MARKED TIME THIS WEEK ON CENTRAL QUESTION OF PARAMETERS FOR MANEUVERS

MEASURE, AND FORMAL MEETINGS WERE CANCELLED TO ALLOW FOR PRIVATE CONSULTATIONS. SOVIETS HAD BEEN PRESSING NEUTRALS TO INTRODUCE COMPROMISE PACKAGE OF 300 KMS., 25,000 TROOPS, AND 21 DAYS LAST WEEK, BUT CHANGED TACTICS THIS WEEK IN HOPES THAT NATO ALLIES COULD BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT A MOVE FAVORABLE DEAL FROM SOVIET STANDPOINT. CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE, NEUTRALS CONTINUED TO HESITATE ABOUT INTRODUCING THEIR FIGURES AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WILL NOT DO SO UNTIL CONVINCED THEY HAVE FOUND A GENUINE COMPROMISE BETWEEN PACT AND ALLIED POSITIONS. ON ISSUE OF APPLICATION OF MANEUVERS MEASURE ON SOVIET SEACOASTS AND IN TURKEY, UK WITHIN ALLIED CAUCUS IS PROMOTING TEXT BY WHICH SOVIETS WOULD NOTIFY ALL MANEUVERS ON BALTIC AND BLACK SEA COASTS UP TO AGREED DEPTH, AND TURKS WOULD NOTIFY MANEUVERS IN ALL OF THRACE AND ANATOLIA, EXCEPT IN AREAS "CLOSE TO" NON-PARTICIPATING STATES (WHICH TURKS COULD INTERPRET AS EXEMPTING MANEUVERS AT OR NEAR PORTS FACING CYPRUS). FROM INFORMAL SOUNDINGS IT APPEARS CYPRUS AND GREECE COULD ACCEPT SUCH A SOLUTION, BUT IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHETHER SOVIETS AND TURKS CAN. ALSO WITHIN ALLIED CAUCUS, UK HAS DISTRIBUTED FOR DISCUSSION A FULL DRAFT TEXT OF HOW FINAL CBM DOCUMENT MIGHT APPEAR, AS POSSIBLE BASIS FOR PACKAGE DEAL ON REMAINING ISSUES. DRAFT CONTAINS SEVERAL IMPORTANT POINTS WHICH DO NOT CONFORM WITH CURRENT US POSITIONS, AND USDEL ASKED FOR PRELIMINARY SESSIONS IN CAUCUS TO IRON SUCH ISSUES OUT BEFORE MEMBERS SUBMIT TEXTS TO CAPITALS FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. WE EXPECT THAT REVISED UK DRAFT WILL BE READY FOR REVIEW IN CAPITALS TOWARD THE END OF NEXT WEEK.

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INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

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FM USMISSION GENEVA
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USNMR/SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLO/SACLANT/NORVA
CINCLANT
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 4499

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE WAS UNABLE TO REACH FINAL AGREEMENT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TEXT IN PREAMBLE ALTHOUGH THIS SEEMS PROBABLE AT NEXT SESSION. INFORMAL MEETING ON MFN/RECIPROCITY ISSUE SHOWED RIGID OPPOSING POSITIONS OF EC (SUPPORTED BY SOME NEUTRALS) AND EAST ON THE ISSUE OF EQUIVALENT OR EQUAL ADVANTAGES AND OBLIGATIONS WHICH EC INSISTS BE INCLUDED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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RECIPROCITY TEXT. EC IS DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN POSITION IN EXPECTATION THAT EAST WILL BE FORCED TO AGREE IN ORDER NOT TO BLOCK CONCLUSION OF STAGE II. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES MADE PROGRESS ON SAFEGUARDS TEXT WITH FINAL AGREEMENT LIKELY SOON. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE REACHED AGREEMENT AND PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED ITS FINAL DOCUMENT, THUS COMPLETING ITS SUBSTANTIVE WORK. SOVIETS IN END AGREED TO MINIMAL CHANGES, DESPITE THEIR EFFORTS OVER MANY WEEKS TO REVERSE WESTERN GAINS AND REOPEN AGREED TEXTS. OTHER AREAS SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF MIGRANT LABOR.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEES WORKED INFORMALLY ON THEIR FEW REMAINING SECONDARY ISSUES. SOLUTION BEGAN TO EMERGE FOR ROMANIAN CONSULAR ASSISTANCE PROPOSAL, BUT VATICAN TEXT ON RELIGIOUS TRAVEL STILL POSED PROBLEMS, ROMANIANS MAINTAINED THEIR OPPOSITION TO TEXT ON NO EXPULSION FOR JOURNALISTS, AND UK AND FRG COULD STILL NOT AGREE TO COMPROMISE TEXT ON BROADCASTING. MAJOR EAST/WEST ISSUES OUT-

STANDING IN CULTURAL SUBCOMMITTEE WERE RESOLVED WHEN SOVIETS AGREED TO ALMOST EVERY PROVISION OF A WESTERN COMPROMISE PACKAGE INVOLVING PREAMBLE TO CULTURE AND TEXTS ON ACCESS AND CONTACTS. FEW AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY SOVIETS DID NOT AFFECT SUBSTANCE OF PACKAGE AND WERE ACCEPTED AD REFERENDUM BY WESTERN NEGOTIATORS. IMPASSE IN EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE ON CERTAIN EAST/WEST ISSUES ALSO NEARED RESOLUTION AS RESULT OF BEHIND-SCENES NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN UK AND SOVIET DELS. IN BOTH SUBCOMMITTEES, HOWEVER, THERE REMAINS PROBLEM OF YUGOSLAV PROPOSALS REGARDING NATIONAL MINORITIES. AT WEEK'S END THERE WERE NO INDICATIONS OF A BREAK IN IMPASSE OVER THIS ISSUE.

6. MEDITERRANEAN -- MALTA IS NOW VIRTUALLY ISOLATED OVER ITS INSISTENCE ON A NEW OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH IN THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION PROPOSING MEDITERRANEAN-ARAB COOPERATION AND MUTUAL US AND SOVIET WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES. HOWEVER, IT IS AS YET UNCLEAR WHETHER THE MEDITERRANEAN WORKING GROUP'S ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY NEGATIVE REACTION WILL IN FACT SUFFICE TO PERSUADE MINTOFF NOT TO MAKE A DRAMATIC LAST-MINUTE ISSUE OVER THIS POINT.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STATE III -- FORMAL DISCUSSION OF BOTH ISSUES WAS DORMANT, BUT SOVIETS INDICATED PRIVATELY THAT THEY WOULD ACCEPT ONE SIGNATURE ON THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT, PROVIDED THIS IS CONFIDENTIAL

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AT THE END OF ALL CSCE TEXTS, AND NOT ON A COVER NOTE WITH TEXTS ANNEXED, AS HAS BEEN PROPOSED BY THE WEST.

8. FOLLOW-UP -- AFTER A GOOD DEAL OF DISCUSSION THE DANES HAVE DECIDED NOT TO SUBMIT EVEN THEIR SLIGHT REVISIONS OF THE DANISH PROPOSAL TO THE FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP FOR THE TIME BEING, IN VIEW OF THE CONTINUING SHARP DIFFERENCE AMONG THE NINE ON THIS SUBJECT. SEVERAL NATO ALLIES, AS WELL AS THE NEUTRALS, THE ROMANIANS AND THE YUGOSLAVS, ARE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED OVER THE CONTINUING FAILURE OF THE FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP EVEN TO BEGIN MEANINGFUL FOLLOW-UP NEGOTIATIONS. THEY ATTRIBUTE THIS TO UNNECESSARY FRENCH RIGIDITY ON FOLLOW-UP, WHICH IN TURN HAS FROZEN THE POSITIONS OF THE NINE, THE FIFTEEN AND THE CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE.

9. COMMENT -- THE KEY TO A JULY SUMMIT IS EARLY AGREEMENT ON PARAMETERS FOR A CBM ON MANEUVERS. IF THE WESTERN ALLIES OBTAIN SATISFACTION ON THIS POINT, MOST WILL CONSIDER THAT MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE WESTERN OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN ATTAINED, AND WILL THEN BE READY TO AGREE ON A DATE FOR STATE III. THIS CONCLUSION, HOWEVER, WILL FAIRLY WELL HAVE TO BE REACHED DURING THE NEXT TEN DAYS, SINCE THE FINNS REQUIRE FOUR WEEKS NOTICE FOR CONVENING OF STAGE III, AND EVEN AFTER A DATE IS SET THERE WILL BE QUITE A LOT OF WORK TO DO ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES SUCH AS THE PRINCIPLES AND FOLLOW-UP, AND ON THE CLEAN-UP AND MECHANICAL OPERATIONS WHICH WILL BE NECESSARY BEFORE THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT IS READY FOR SIGNATURE.

WITH THE EC-9 POLITICAL DIRECTORS INEVITABLY DISCUSSING TIMING IN
DUBLIN ON JUNE 16, THE SOVIETS ARE VERY LATE IN MOVING TO REACH
FINAL AGREEMENT ON THE MANEUVER PARAMETERS, AND THEY WILL HAVE TO
DO SO IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE IF THEY ARE TO BRING OFF THE JULY
SUMMIT. END COMMENT.DALE

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